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to be released from service. As the Agent of that period, Linus M. Nickerson, summarized matters, his carpenter, wagon- and plowmaker, blacksmith, superintendent of farming, farmer, and sawyer lapsed, while the treaty provided for a five-year continuance of physician, miller, two teachers, and the materials for shops mills, and agency buildings.[8] The Bureau at this point assumed responsibility for continuance of some of the staff and thus resolved the crisis.[9]

Later exigencies led to further modifications of staff, until the superintendent of the Yainax boarding school became responsible, in effect, to the Agent for the entire administration of the upper end of the reservation; and the interpreter, doubling as blacksmith, oversaw the issuing of rations to Indian employees and the destitute, and supervised the working prisoners. As more men left the reservation in the eighties and nineties in search of employment, the labor force available for reservation maintenance dwindled, and the Agent had recourse to the older school boys as part of his work force. Since they were to spend half the day under the industrial teacher, a struggle for ascendancy over this functionary developed between Agent and school supervisor, a battle which more than once was marked by acerbity.

So complicated was the issue by the growing centralization of the management of reservation schools under a district superintendent of Indian schools in Washington, that Agent Joseph Emery had to be reassured: ". . . the Indian Agent is [the Office's] representative upon the Indian reservation . . . [and] it is my intention to properly support your authority in all legitimate cases."[10] Another circumstance was the location of the Klamath boarding school under the direct surveillance of the Agent. While his counterpart at Yainax controlled both school and subagency, the Superintendent of the Agency school chafed under the levies—and at times the direct interference—of the Agent. This was particularly true during the tenure of Emery, a former professor at the Agricultural College at Corvallis, who instituted a number of innovations in the school. That friction did not result solely from the play of exceptional personalities is shown by the circumstance that later Agents, E. L. Applegate and David W. Matthews, encountered similar trouble.[11]

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the neighboring settlers were in part made up of men with Indian wives, and in part, too, of former employees of the Agency.[19] They were not always respectful of the dignity of the Agent and frequently challenged his authority. At times, as in the strife of the 1880's with the stockmen on the eastern border of the reservation, the clashes assumed an almost warlike character.

Despite these preoccupations and deterrents, work somehow proceeded. Not all Indians wanted the progress, with all its circumscriptions, that was gradually unfolded before them, and not all who desired it were capable of achieving it. Nonetheless, the lure of a farm and a herd of horses or cattle of one's own, to be able to have a wagon and be a man of substance, to use the coffee, sugar, salt, beef, flour, and baking soda that had become the new necessities, to dress well: these opportunities, open only to a few entrepreneurs in the old days of raid-and-trade, now became available to any who would work hard and subject himself to an alien discipline. It was just this regimen that whole generations of children were subjected to in the schools. In the main, the program in the early period was a success. The reasons why its success was no more than qualified are set forth below.

The tasks the government set itself were manifold. The Indians of independent tribes and bands were to be confined within a reservation and there brought into a single polity. Within twenty years they were to be transformed into self-sufficient farmers and their feet set upon a road marked by the use of "citizens' dress," of modern homes, preferably situated on individual farms, by ability to speak English and even to read and write in that medium, and the abandonment of their own faith for Christianity. Annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs carry a statistical summary for all reservations of the state of "civilization" of the Indians, couched in these and similar terms. Narrative reports of the Agents dwell time and again upon the inculcation of proper aspirations, extending at times even to the minutiae of observance. "During the last two or three years," states Linus M. Nickerson (1884) with satisfaction, "I have not known a burial when the coffin has not been covered with a good quality of black cloth or velvet and where the trimmings have not been equally good."[20]

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the surrounding white neighborhood, the men came to take up roles narrowly and specifically defined in American terms and to rephrase them in terms of their closest native counterparts.[17] Thus, in the political field, judges and Indian police enlarged the formal duties of office with some of the powers traditionally exerted by chiefs. Assimilation of roles, however, progressed in both directions; and in the end even relationships within Indian society upon the reservation were modified toward the American system. This was only partially the consequence of conscious imitation on the part of the Indians or of change directly instituted by the whites. In some measure, it came as the undesigned byplay of a modification made for another purpose.

This, for example, was one of the effects of the educational system and its particular instrument, the boarding school. Because boarding school spanned the time of life upon which the Klamath vision quest and the girls' puberty rite fell, those native experiences were largely eliminated; and change of status was signaled instead by the final return from school. Education was designed for an altered future, but it increased intergenerational strife, as elders, their accumulated wisdom rendered obsolete in a changed setting, confronted youths skeptical in the superiority of their book-won knowledge. From the vantage of program, this was unfortunate—if inevitable—for the Agent depended for cooperation upon those same vexed adults.

To be sure, much of the change instituted might be regarded as supplementing and enlarging—rather than replacing—native content, for many a Klamath who was a schoolboy in those days today combines the learning of his elders with the lessons taught him in the schools. Participation in two orders juxtaposed for them made manifest the relativity of each one. For those youths, the new order was not to be taken on simple assertion; it had to demonstrate its superiority in a manner not required by those born into it.

With all the changes that tended to distort the social order, women were less directly affected than were their husbands and children. Their roles were still principally internal to the family, as wife and mother; and though opportunities for employment were beginning to open for them in the schools, their contacts with the ambient American culture were more fleeting and more

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School

WHILE THE RE-EDUCATION OF THEIR ELDERS WAS BEING CARRIED OUT, it was the youth of the reservation on whom the Agents placed their ultimate hopes. The American faith in the transforming powers of education is nowhere clearer than in the words of Dyar:

> Being fully convinced that a radical change in the Indian character can only be wrought in childhood and early youth, I would most respectfully urge the co-operation of the Government in the prosecution of this work of taking the children from their native haunts of degradation, and clothing, feeding, and teaching them the habits and arts of civilization.[1]

It had been a slow start. Lindsay Applegate had employed a teacher, but as that functionary observed, he had been "instructed to labor on the farms and to give instructions to certain Indians in manual labor"—evidently not his metier.[2] The "sickly effort" as A. B. Meacham termed it, was abandoned,[3] and not until 1873 did Dyar's plan for a manual training boarding school bear fruit.[4] It met initial opposition. John Meacham had advocated the hiring of a "good reliable educated Indian" as teacher who "would himself be a living example of the result to be achieved by study. . . ."[5] Such a person might also have been able to reduce the initial aversion of parents to sending their children to school. Dyar noted, "I shall be obliged to commence with a very few—perhaps with orphans who have no friends to oppose." However, he wisely declined to use force.[6] In his efforts he was to have the steadfast support of Henry Blow, who became head chief in 1874. "Mr. Dyar . . . says," wrote Nickerson, "that he never could have established the school on this reservation, had it not been for him. He was its friend when all others were against it."[7]

Soon Dyar had over twenty scholars,[8] only to have to close

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first encountered Christianity at the school. There were studies, though the most lasting impressions were made in references to Indian wars in the histories.[21] Above all there was the heavy labor, for the development of the industrial program coincided with the period when able-bodied men were leaving the reservation on passes to work for whites; and the support not only of the schools but in some measure of other Agency programs devolved upon the scholars. As E. L. Applegate admitted, "the truth is, the labor is very heavy upon those old enough or intelligent enough to render any assistance; 110 people [in the school] constitute a large family."[22] Work on the school farm required the pupils to return in two-week shifts over the summer. A contest for control over this work force developed between Applegate and the Superintendent of the Agency school, who presumed to take his orders directly from the Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington.[23]

There was competition from off-reservation schools over the older students. In 1881, Nickerson, perhaps prodded from above, had attempted to send twelve superior students to the Indian school at Forest Grove—later removed to Chemawa, Oregon—but funds were not available to send them the 450 miles distant.[24] In a letter from Acting Commissioner E. L. Stevens, the role of those schools and their competition with Agency schools are clearly acknowledged. Declared Stevens:

> It is not the policy of this office to remove pupils from reservation to distant boarding schools without the consent of their parents.
>
> It is always the case that the removal from agency schools of the older and more intelligent pupils is, temporarily at least, a detriment to the schools; but it is believed that the superior advantages which can be had away from the Indian country, and the reflex influence on the families who thus commit themselves to civilization, more than compensate to the tribe for the loss occasioned to the schools.[25]

In 1885, accordingly, nineteen students were sent away to school, and by spring, five had died. Eventually eight were dead, and Emery wrote, "This great mortality has caused much dissatisfaction among my Indians; and any effort to remove any more children to this School will meet with serious opposition on

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the part of the Indians."[25] The issue was not successfully reopened until the administration of O. C. Applegate.

In the education for a new life which the schools essayed to impart—and this, against all diversions, was its chief task—the caliber of the teaching staff was crucial. It is difficult to evaluate the accomplishments of the teachers, for some were relatives or longtime friends of the Agent; and the adverse criticisms of such men as Emery sometimes cloak differences in educational outlook. Scattered through the records are remarks on the lack of prior school or Indian service experience. In one staff evaluation appears a notation on Thomas Davis, industrial teacher, "recommended by Governor Pennoyer as his nephew. He is learning and is prepared to do better in the future."[27] Of another, J. W. Brandenberg, superintendent and principal teacher at the Yainax school, it was observed, "He has maintained good discipline in this School, though his methods of punishment may have been considered a little severely by the Department; he having resorted to the shackles in extreme cases. . . ."[28] These are commendatory remarks. Brandenberg was later removed by order of the Commissioner.

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An extreme instance was detailed by E. L. Applegate in charges against Col. H. B. Compson, the Superintendent of the Agency School. After describing the squalor of his residence, Applegate proceeds:

> As an example of the civilized White men, he could and did knock down his wife in the presence of the school girls while, at the same time, their daughter, the assistant matron, belabored him over the head with a wagon whip. The matron herself was an invalid, but of sufficient spite and vim; as to inflict scars on different parts of the bodies of school girls, and even upon their faces and heads.[29]

In the light of conflicts over educational and disciplinary practices and the frequent partisanship, it is not surprising that there should have been a high turnover of staff. The Superintendent of the Agency boarding school noted in 1892 that over the previous seven years there had been on the average a change in Superintendent every six months, and that there was marked insubordination among the scholars.[30] Eight years later, the

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*648 *657 875 876 Superintendent of the school at Yainax was more explicit. Acknowledging that it may occasionally have been necessary to resort to forbidden disciplinary measures, he added:

> When the Indians find that they cannot tantalize a careworn employee into doing something rash and thus secure his discharge, it will be easier to get along with a minimum of severity. . . . This is entirely impossible without occasional resort to force. Interest, where no object is visible, must sometimes be bolstered up by respect for physical force.

And he observed tersely, "I find some lack of training in employees and a good deal of smiling and obedient inertia."[31]

*648 *657 871 It had been the very purpose of the school to break with the past and thus shape the future. When the school prevented girls from participating in the puberty ritual and the boys from going on the vision quest, the break was sharp. When it exalted the virtues of hard work, it provided a reassuring continuity, albeit fortuitous, with the native exhortations. Many practices prohibited in the schools were merely suspended, to be resumed upon graduation.

To the old skills, however, new abilities were added. Nickerson had long ago suggested that apprentices such as young Jesse Kirk, "one of our oldest and most advanced school boys," be issued tools, after working out their value in the Agency shops, and thus be prepared at once to earn their living and to provide for their people services hitherto available only from the Agency.[32] Others had been trained to farm or ranch and to keep house; and all had learned in some measure to speak English, to read, to do simple arithmetic, and had at least an acquaintance with history and geography.

Beyond those competencies lay a precipitate of experience—for most children the first intimate experience—with the Agency. They had been subjected to a detailed and vigilant regimen which left few things private; and the chief lesson of the encounter for some was that there are ways to circumvent authority. To many, the governing white was symbolized for years in the face of a Miss "Hummingbird" or in the formidable visage of a Colonel Compson.

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another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee."

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely undirected modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to register progress, the advance was evident. When that formulative period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their material wants had come to approximate those of their white neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, at least among the progressive, had made way for the more mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

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heeded. Surely, the government stands in some measure accountable here; and the Indian viewpoint bears a rough relationship to the events of their history. It errs, however, in oversimplification and has the important consequence of deflecting all responsibility for the condition of the Indians upon the shoulders of others.

These developments, when related to the promise of citizenship for Indians, became critical. Originally the Allotment Act had designed that all Indians living apart from their tribes and in assimilation to whites should be awarded citizenship; and that any reservation Indian, upon receiving a patent in trust, would attain the same status. Subsequent amendments postponed citizenship until a patent in fee had been secured. For the Klamath reservation, the local timetable had the result that no trust patents were awarded until all allotments had been made, a condition that in turn had to await settlement of several of the claims suits. The assignment of lands thus took place in an atmosphere heavy with the anticipation of a swift change of status. The better-educated among the leaders, who in turn mingled with those whom allotment had brought back into the reservation polity, were eager to press for greater freedom and increased self-rule.

Signally, administrators believed the same act implied they had a heightened responsibility toward their charges. Schooling had become compulsory, and O. C. Applegate, then Agent, was convinced that allottees should send their children by preference to reservation school. Repeatedly, in his letters to those seeking allotments, he urged them to send their children to the boarding school "where they will be boarded and clothed without expense to you."[4] To a schoolboy who wished to remain away, he wrote, "Tell your father that I intend all the children to have land on the reservation, and that they must come into school according to the rules."[5] When one off-reservation member failed to send her children to school after having consented to do so, Applegate firmly reproved her and added, "Please write me at once what you propose to do about them, and if it is your wish to have them give up their allotments on the reservation."[6]

The relationship between schools on and off the reservation now took on a new dimension. Some of the more acculturated tribal members began to criticize the Agency-run schools as

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inferior to those off the reservation. While administrators did not commonly seek to suppress criticism, neither did they court it; and they failed in the difficult but essential task of encouraging responsible parental comment as a means of gaining Indian participation. Matthews had rejected the plan of appointing Indian visitors to inspect the schools, on the grounds that "they might possibly become dictatorial."[7] In fact, parents tacitly expressed dissatisfaction with the school by keeping a child home on the grounds that he was ill—a maneuver that was clear to the officials. When they made open comment they criticized the discipline as being either too lax or too strict, and they enlarged upon occasional breaches of morals. A topic of official comment were the aggravated acts of insubordination on the part of full-grown boys who had been kept in school to swell the student totals.[8]

Dissatisfaction with these conditions provided the immediate circumstance—but by no means the sole reason—for the movement that now began, as parents sought to place children in schools beyond the jurisdiction of the reservation. Some members, such as Mrs. Minnie Corbell, interbreed wife of a white man, enrolled their children in the public schools;[9] while others, such as Mrs. Celia DuFault, also an interbreed, and her half-sisters, Mrs. Coburn and Mrs. William Crawford, entered theirs at the Indian Training School at Chemawa.[10] When an influential man like Judge Jeff C. Riddle of Yainax, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, first kept his children out of class and then talked of sending them to a nonreservation school, matters had become serious.[11]

In 1898, while aversion to the Chemawa School was still high in the wake of the student mortality there, Applegate took up the suggestion of Inspector W. J. McConnell that he seek to send a body of students to Carlisle Training School in Pennsylvania.[12] After considerable effort, extending over two years, he succeeded in forming a party in 1900 that included two sons of the Rev. Jesse Kirk, one of whom had just been caught in an escapade at the Klamath boarding school.[13] It was the Agent's idea, since Kirk was bound as a delegate to Washington, perhaps in the company of Judge Henry Wilson, to have them visit the school en route in order to "get the assistance of these prominent men in making up a good class for Carlisle."[14]

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No sooner had the party of nine pupils finally gotten under way than Applegate received a letter from the Commissioner calling attention to a letter sent him, apparently by Jesse Kirk himself. In it, the writer accused Police Captain Joseph Kirk, a part-Modoc, and Judge Jack Palmer, a Lower End Klamath, of using their influence against sending children to nonreservation schools. "There are two parties here," wrote Applegate, "who oppose each other on nearly all propositions, the two leaders of which are Captain Joseph Kirk and Rev. Jesse Kirk, half brothers, and who are among our most advanced and able men." He promised to refer the matter to Gen. A. C. Hawley, a Special Agent then visiting Klamath.[15]

Ironically, Jesse Kirk's stand was soon reversed. Soon after he had deposited his sons at Carlisle, the elder boy, Clayton, in company with another pupil, Joseph Ball, ran away and was only recaptured in Pittsburgh. In Applegate's view, Joe Ball, an interbreed and a product of the public school in Klamath Falls, was the ringleader of the escapade and had led his more impressionable companion astray.[16] The senior Kirk thereupon sought to have both sons returned, and Applegate tried to put him off.[17] To Major Pratt at Carlisle he wrote ruefully:

> . . . I have been reconsidering the idea of sending you a class and even regret that I did send the class of nine, as things have turned out. It is hard to get pure bloods to go, and the pressure to get away from the reservation to our non-reservation schools is almost invariably from the mixed element. The Klamaths and Modocs are a determined lot and Rev. Jesse Kirk, son of a resolute old warchief, is no exception to the rule. A short time ago the principal champion of Carlisle he is now ready to move Heaven and Earth to secure the return of his boys since Clayton's escapade, and I wish they were all back."

This action brought into confrontation an embattled Agent and the defiant leaders of the reservation. In Jesse Kirk the Indians has as leader a product of those very "civilizing" forces upon which the government had rested sanguine hopes. The son and namesake of one of the treaty signatories, we have encountered him previously as schoolboy and carpenter's apprentice, as interpreter and as ordained Methodist preacher. In 1886 a representative of the Indian Rights Association characterized him as "a superior man, in poor health and great poverty, . . .

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of them, George and Fred, while employees of the Agency, had purchased lumber, posts, and similar items from Indians to build upon their 10,000-acre ranch.

The most serious malfeasance he charged, however was "the matter of leasing under the special permit system of unallotted tribal lands during the past three or four years." The usual system was for the Superintendent and George Loosley (who was also Agency stockman) to lease a district to an Indian, for example Abraham Charley or Harrison Brown, who in turn leased to whites at one dollar per head of cattle. "It is only those who have engaged in leasing the lands," Mills went on, "that have threatened violence if the petition was sent on to Washington. . . ." He suspected "a large discrepancy between the books of account and the amounts paid in for grazing upon the various districts of unallotted tribel [sic] lands as well as trespasses." During the past four years, less than $4,000 (and probably only $2,667) had been paid in, as against estimated returns of $10,000 from grazing alone.

The Indians therefore demanded the removal of Applegate and George Loosley, the election of officials, and an end to cattle trespass. They demanded more effective voice for the council in leasing and in disbursing Indian money. Finally, they noted other grievances in the treatment of sick school children and demanded that they be permitted to send their children to outside schools.[76]

The accuracy of these charges is secondary to the images of the truth they generated. It is of principal importance that Jesse Kirk was able to convince a large following that the charges were indeed correct. From the standpoint of his faction he then became a man deeply concerned with administrative abuses and striving to remove them by free elections. In that view, Applegate's obduracy drove Kirk reluctantly to more explicit detail until in the end he was forced openly to seek the Superintendent's removal.

In Washington, a new administration was in the saddle, and the new Commissioner was the reformer, F. E. Leupp. Even if Applegate were innocent, the embroilments under his administration would not have recommended his retention. In May, he vacated his office for Horace G. Wilson. Applegate had already received a temporary appointment as clerk at the Grande Ronde

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history. Beatty, in the upper valley of the Sprague, lies between the town of Sprague River, some fourteen miles below it, and Bly, roughly the same distance away over the eastern boundary of the reservation. It drew some of its population from Yainax, when that subagency was closed, as well as from Paiute Camp to the east. Beatty's nucleus had been the Methodist mission and store, to which other establishments presently were added, and houses began to be built about them. White ranchers have moved in to work the allotted land they bought or rented, usually bringing their families with them. Others, white, Indian—using that term for non-Klamath—and Negro, have married tribal members.

By 1959, however, when the community was studied,[8] it was in a sharp decline: for in the 1940's the local school had been closed in a consolidation with the one at Bly; the Methodist mission had been reduced to an adjunct of the principal mission on Williamson River, at the Lower End; and the lumber mill at Sprague River had ceased operations. The community had survived, though on a greatly reduced scale, with a population totaling 136 persons, 105 of them tribal members, prevailingly of Modoc and Paiute derivation, 5 Indians from other reservations, 25 whites, and 1 Negro.

Chiloquin, located at the confluence of the Sprague and Williamson rivers, was the largest community on the reservation, with a population then almost seven times that of Beatty.[9] A mill and market town which burgeoned when tribal timber was opened by the advent of the railroad, Chiloquin was incorporated as a city in 1926 and soon afterward boasted a population, including adjacent woods camps, of approximately two thousand. In its heyday, when along with Modoc Point, Braymill, and Sprague River it pulsed with activity, Chiloquin was a lusty and sometimes rowdy city, enjoying the wicked sobriquet of "The Little Chicago of the West." Below the surface was a structure which provided an institutional extension of American civic life elsewhere. A bank, a newspaper, telephone company, hotels and rooming houses, schools and churches, a boxing association and occasional Chatauqua, moving picture house, taxi company, Ladies' Community Club, Commerce Club, Masons and V.F.W., lawyers, dentists, and doctors: all these shared space with dance-halls, card rooms, bootleggers, pimps, and prostitutes.

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All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the event-centered activities of Klamath households, with their diffusely focused social expectations, clashed with school routine. For many young Klamath, coming from such a background, exposure to a clear-cut, hierarchial system which they entered from the bottom and to a sustained discipline proved stressful. The conflict between family subculture and that represented by the middle-class teachers, felt as well by white children, was experienced more sharply by the Klamath, not alone because the disparity was often objectively greater in their case, but because it came to be invested with ethnic judgments.

That tribal parents differed from white parents in educational background and intellectual interests is evident; and the differences upon the reservation have tended to persist despite the fact that the Klamath have long been subjected, like whites, to compulsory education and that since 1926 they have attended county schools. A comparison of a small sample of tribal members in Chiloquin with other segments of the population revealed that no fewer than fifty-two per cent of Tribal house heads and thirty-nine per cent of Interethnic house heads had stopped their education at grade school. For white house heads, the corresponding figure was only twenty-two per cent.[5] In the use of the public library, a branch of the county system lodged in Chiloquin's city hall, the figures for adults show white, Interethnic, and Indian users far outstripping the Tribal; and while among the children Interethnic users fell close to the Tribal figure, the latter still lagged behind all others. With a few individual exceptions, data on the periodicals taken in the home and attendance at concerts in Klamath Falls showed a corresponding gap.

Thus the school experience marked a grave discontinuity in the life of many tribal families, and particularly among those in which both parents were Klamath. The stresses mounted, however, in the transitional years of junior high school, during the seventh and eighth grades. The reasons are not far to seek. The schools, viewed by whites, Indians, and a minority of tribal members as an objective preparation for a life in which the demands for training were ever mounting, offered little incentive to children who were convinced that a ceaseless flow of per capita dividends gave them an assured income for life. Klamath parents

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often seemed to take the school for granted as just another of the rights granted them in the treaty of 1864.

For their part, whites often ignored the contributions made either on behalf of the Klamath or directly by them toward school support. Tribal parents tended to see in the school bureaucracy another manifestation of white surrogacy. Even at the time when an Indian—a non-Klamath employed at the Agency—was elected to the presidency of the PTA, the large majority of tribal members declined to join that body. On other occasions, students elected a tribal member and an Indian president of the senior class. Notwithstanding, issues which arose from time to time convinced some Klamath parents that the schools were racially biased. Although restive, they confined themselves to individual action, in angry criticism, occasional arguments with teachers, and rarely in assaults upon a teacher or principal.

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In the Chiloquin grade school, most of the teachers were the wives of local men, having a comparatively long residence in the area and a familiarity with local conditions. At that level, the curriculum was largely undifferentiated and a policy of social promotion was followed. Consequently, the grade school offered conditions for a smoother adjustment than did the secondary school. Even so, truancy was more substantial among tribal children than white, and the imposition of discipline, often interpreted by indignant Klamath mothers as an expression of prejudice, was hedged with difficulties.

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It was in the junior high school that the frictions rapidly mounted. Here, and increasingly in the high school, the modest educational assets—the two schools in 1950-51 had a combined staff of nine teachers—were strained by contending demands for both vocational training and a college-preparatory curriculum. With subject specialization, a professionally oriented teaching staff, composed primarily of men who had been hired from outside the area, dominated the school. Individually, they tended to be less permissive toward their students than their fellow teachers in the grade school. Promotion in high school was upon merit. Meanwhile, as students attained puberty, they came to be increasingly aware of the significance attached by their elders to racial differences. Disciplinary problems now mounted, and so did dropouts. The truancy rate (1956-57) for white children

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in seventh and ninth grades—the beginning grades respectively for junior high and high school—was less than half the figure for first grade in the same year. For tribal children, by contrast, the figures for the advanced grades were each almost twice as large as that for the first grade.

On an average, roughly one-half the small number of Klamath children entering high school could be expected to graduate. That this record was not to be attributed to a difference in intellectual ability is intimated by the results of California mental maturity tests which, as administered to Klamath children as a whole at the fourth grade, yielded normal scores, averaging 96.9. When, however, the same children had reached the eighth grade, their average score had declined to 80.4.[6] A sharp drop in incentive had taken its toll.

The stresses within the school fell unequally upon Klamath boys and girls. Athletic prowess and artistic ability—both often conceived as racially innate and as masculine attributes—gave the boys legitimate avenues to social approval. At puberty, however, Klamath girls were often beginning to develop the physical massiveness that is so frequent in their racial constitution, but that at the same time is foreign to American ideals of beauty. Some bore their lot with dignity and poise. Others courted a fleeting favor through promiscuity or took out their resentments in direct assault upon rivals or upon substitute figures. Direct violence against whites occurred in the schools at about this age, and most frequently involved girls. Still others sought alternatives outside the school, dropping out entirely, going away to vocational schools, or entering into early marriages.

Indeed, for many of the tribal youth—boys as well as girls—confronted by a school experience that grew increasingly irrelevant as they became older, it was merely a matter of "serving time" until they gained release by attaining the age of eighteen. Many Klamath tended to marry young, and there were incentives peculiar to their position. For a girl striving to escape the pressures and dissatisfactions of home life, the regimen of caring for younger siblings, and the boredom and vexation of the school, the importance and security of being a newlywed possessed a fairyland appeal. For the boy, the trust fund accumulated by the Agency for each minor, amounting in some instances to

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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$10,000, constituted an inexhaustible treasure. Ordinarily, this was placed in his hands only when he had come of age, but with marriage he attained seniority at once, and it became his.

Many a young couple, then, sought a new life in the last few years of high school in an elopement to Reno or Las Vegas. In a week or so they returned to take up adult life; and thus to reconcile their hopes with the social realities of the reservation. Although they would continue to maintain a degree of camaraderie with a few of their schoolmates, such intimacy as they had known across ethnic boundaries was at an end. For the majority of tribal members, their course and that of their white schoolmates increasingly diverged.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one, or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness. The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-cut, specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu. In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts. This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture, but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not adequately prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted, the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness, or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high

882 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
155 in test performance and grades.
156

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[464] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
[462] of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these bene-
fits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local em-
ployers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
[654] of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by ex-
perience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
426 for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circum-
vented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-
reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

-15-

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly employed, well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for one month studied commercial art in Portland. 159* [464] [463] [871] [701]

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several generations has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch instead, Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forthright independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressiveness and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredictable, and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grandmother. Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reservation from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right. This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty. [619] [591] [608] [593] [153]

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches. Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence, and he voluntarily served with a coubat unit in Korea. This army experience considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteristically, Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive for advancement. [961]

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.

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Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking" activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area, with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother. Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband, who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages, and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house (it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her.

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone, particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

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Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159 (156) (184) (871) (586) (842) (597) Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times. Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one, an adolescent boy, since birth.

(754) (874) (759) (857) *159 156 177 184 (774) (608) *159 156 (273) (353) Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress. She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them her position is so esteemed and secure that a visitation to her house is highly valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., persons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an advisor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income, spotlessly clean, well furnished and honey. Every room of the house has its walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her husband or adopted son. (571) Most of her current social contacts are with Whites, for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

(157) Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties. Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers, and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or contributed much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17 full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a result of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just 16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the character of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or another place and either charged or shipped out of town.

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble, but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appropriate force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so, because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian," but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher, both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[595] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
[733] William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[83] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[587] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
*871 three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[178] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri, California, and Mexico.

[651] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
[464] for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five, and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
[177] is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values, and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[91] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
[871] English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that children today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
[593] can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[603] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect, Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
[867] spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
[871] carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
[177] seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate inter-
156 changes and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses

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Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159 156 [461] [891] [592] [434] [659] Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen. Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger siblings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] [582] [648] [221] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household [593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this person is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity, [848] which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's *159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards 156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or 593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting, and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls, and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

[421] Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom she spends much time.

*159 156 [673] [512] Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

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[871]

Fidel quit school because of what he defines as "family trouble," and this failure is probably equally due to his lack of support and training at home, as well as from the mildly hostile, indifferent posture he maintains. He expresses bitter contempt for his family, for the filthy house, for the lack of regular hours, and for the frequent squabbles. His isolation from this group is adequately measured by his lack of knowledge of the interests and affiliations of family members. His contempt for them is balanced by his father's derogatory, competitive attitude towards his son and his mother's indifference. Fidel stands thus, mildly hostile, ambivalent, and infinitely bored, at the brink of independent adulthood.

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Rorschach Record

159*
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No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						I
(1)	WS	FM	ad		2"	Well I dunno...could be some kind of animal. (AE?) Just LL a dog or smth looking at you...its ears hanging over. (Rotates card) How are you supposed to look at it, anyway? () (Rotates card and looks at it briefly, but not attentively, looks at E. and waits for him to finish writing.)
(1) Whole, space. () Well—the ears hanging over the side and the two eyes (S) and the mouth (S). LL its head. () LL it's looking at you.						
						II
(2)	D	FMc'	ad	P	27"	(Much rotation) (Laughs) LL a couple of dogs w/their noses together—how come they put different colored ink in them? That's the way it looks—both ways,
(3)	D	FMc'	ad			upside down and the other way.
(2) All grey. () Just the black part. () Well—it LL a dog's head w/ears sticking out and the nose up against the other one. () Just the...it LL the shadows of two dogs w/their noses together. () Just the outline—the silhouette.						
						III
(4)	W	M	h	P	17"	This one LL two guys dancing. (AE?) I can't make anth else out on there.
(4) All grey. () Just the black part. (Men?) Well, I dunno. Could be a cpl of kids cause that's the way they dance. (Boys/girls?) Could be either a boy or a girl or two boys or two girls...just LL people dancing.						
						IV
(5)	W	FM	a		33"	I don't know what the heck this is...some kind of bug with wings or (rotating card)
(6)	D	F	ad			some kind of horse head or something...everybody sees these different, huh? () Nothing else but a big black ink spot.
(5) Whole, down. () I dunno what kind...just like it's reaching for you or smth. (Frightening?) Could be. (6) Headlike bottom center, D23, down. looking at it from above.						
						V
(7)	W	FM	a	P	17"	That LL a bat with its wings out—down. Turn him
(8)	W	FM	a			upside down and it LL you got him spread out.